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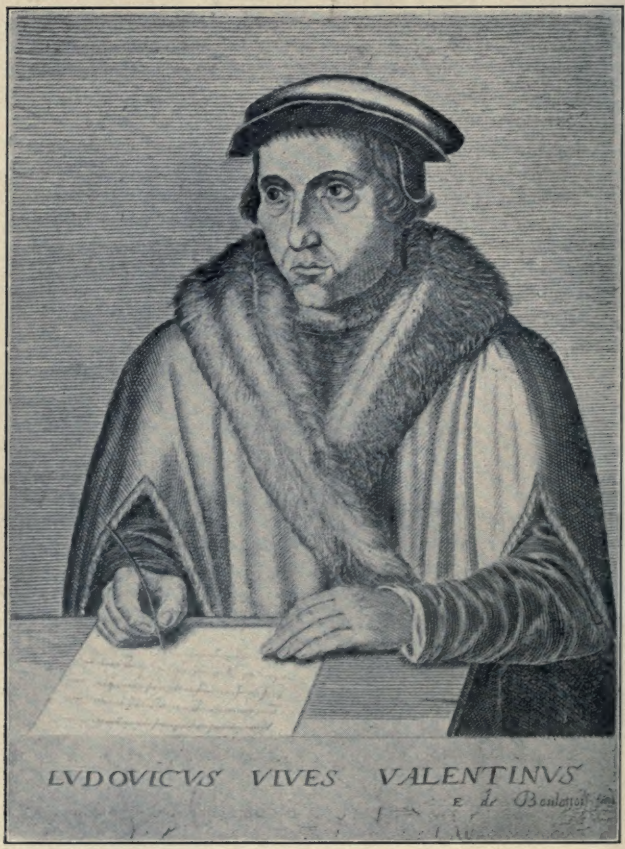

LUIS VIVES

From the portrait by Edmond de Boulonois

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LUIS VIVES

EL GRAN VALENCIANO

(1492-1540)

BY

FOSTER WATSON, D.Lit.

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ABERYSTWYTH

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PREFACE

LUIS VIVES has often been noticed as the friend of Budé in France, of Erasmus in Flanders, and of Sir Thomas More in England. The object of this monograph is to show that he is worthy of study on his own account. No Spaniard up to his date (perhaps, indeed, not at any time in the past) had ever come into such friendly relations with the English leaders of learning and culture on their own soil. It may be said that at least he ranks as high, educationally, as Erasmus. Probably as a pioneering reformer he should be placed higher. Though he only lived forty-eight years he was many-sided and had gathered much experience. It has been necessary, therefore, in this volume to emphasize only one important portion of his life, 1523-8

(that spent in England). This serves to bring into relief the literary and educational activity which may be called the Age of Queen Catharine of Aragon, in which Luis Vives, the Valencian, the Queen's compatriot, took so distinctive a part.

FOSTER WATSON.

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE OF WALES,
ABERYSTWYTH.
November 1921.

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I

THE GLAMOUR OF RENASCENCE SPAIN

Two figures of the time of the Spanish Renascence claim special attention for their influence on English thought and culture in the reign of Henry VIII, the ill-fated first wife of that monarch, Catharine of Aragon, and her friend and adviser, the subject of this monograph, Juan Luis Vives. The two names should be more closely associated than has been usual, for these two had much in common, and particularly, they had in the background of their lives the living Spanish tradition, in the most glorious period of the joint reign of Ferdinand and Isabella, when Spain developed into the most brilliant Court in Europe, the very prototype of

what England was to become in the time of Queen Elizabeth a hundred years later, but the foundations of which were to be laid by Queen Catharine in the Court of King Henry VIII, from the Spanish influence which permeated, from the time of her coming to England (until the inauspicious arrival on these shores of Philip II), with a discernible power never previously approached.

Catharine (or Catalina) of Aragon was born in 1485, at Alcalá, a pleasant little ancient town on the Henares, on the site of the ancient Complutum. Juan Luis Vives was born, in 1492, at Valencia, similarly dating back to Roman times, and in its very name Valencia, standing as the equivalent to the Greek 'Ρώμη, both words signifying 'power'. Vives was to add distinction to his birthplace, for he is known to this day, affectionately, as 'el gran Valenciano'. The Princess Catharine was, we see, his senior by seven years. As a child, she was brought up in the midst of warfare, accompanying her mother

in the camp-life incident to the wars with Moorish Granada. As Miss Strickland has said, 'The first objects which greeted her awakening intellect were the wonders of the Alhambra, and the exquisite bowers of the Generaliffi.' The Queen Isabella for a time herself instructed Catharine and her three sisters, and then had them introduced to the best learning of the Italians, by bringing over Alessandro and Antonio Geraldino, to teach them Latin. It was at the time when Peter Martyr was inspiring the young and even older Spanish nobility with the desire of the new knowledge, and Lucio Marineo Siculo and many others were members of the Court, drawing the nobles together, and shedding the lustre of 'letters over the martial glory inherited from their ancestors'. Greatest of all the Italianated Spanish scholars was Antonio de Lebrija (latinized Nebrissensis), who (besides other more learned works) wrote his *Grammatica Castillana* (1) in 1492, drawn up specially for the instruction of the ladies of the Court. The

young Princess Catharine entered into all this new spirit of Renascence erudition and of international culture, brought into the Court by Spanish scholars returned from Italy, and by Italian teachers travelling in Spain, as well as in the general spirit of enterprise of an age in which the Moors were driven out of Spain, and the Spanish ships under Columbus found their way into the New World. All these events happened in that *annus mirabilis*, 1492.

This was the year, too, of the birth of Juan Luis Vives, in a house in the Carrer de la taberna dell gall, in the city of the Cid, the city (as was said) of three hundred churches, Valencia, and in one of them, that of St. Agnes, he was baptized. There was a great tradition of scholarship, especially in law and medicine, derived from the time of the Moors, as far back as the eighth to the tenth centuries, in Valencia. Vives himself received direct benefit of instruction in law from a relative, Henry March, and from a friend of the family, a physician, Juan Población. This atmosphere of

medical knowledge, no doubt, early prepared the thoughts of Vives towards problems like the training of the blind and the dumb, and the abnormal and afflicted, for whom Valencia had long provided special treatment. Valencia is justly described as 'the garden of Spain', and this was afterwards constantly in Vives's thoughts as a basis for the appeal, the most urgent made in his century, to 'nature-study'. 'Whatever is in the arts', he says, 'was *in Nature first*, just as pearls are in shells, or gems in the sand.' The natural surroundings of Valencia stirred Vives to observation. Knowledge thus obtained must be built up by the inductive method. He was thus Baconian, two generations before Francis Bacon wrote. Vives is the first among modern educationists to appeal for the introduction of nature-observation as a method of teaching. The delight in his native Valencia is at the root of this conviction. Never did he forget the charm of varied colour, the delight of the senses, and the lavish

plenty of the country round. To this day, the fruit- and flower-market of Valencia is unforgettable once seen. In one of his dialogues (in the volume called *Exercitatio*, written to enable boys to converse readily in Latin):

Scintilla says, in describing the streets of Valencia: Let us enter into La Plaza de la Fruta.

Borgia. Or shall we say La Plaza de las Verzas?

Scintilla. The market is both . . . What a spaciousness, what a multitude of sellers and buyers . . . Gardens could hardly be thought to contain fruit sufficient for the supply of what is in this market.

The names of the interlocutors are those of Valencian families In another dialogue one of the interlocutors is an old Valencian seller of vegetables, and it contains references to Valencian churches, a plaza, a tavern, streets, and so on. And yet when he wrote his *Exercitatio*, Vives had left his beloved Valencia nearly thirty years.

Or again we can realize something of the depth of the remembrance of Valencia in a letter which he wrote twelve years after leaving it, when he was domiciled in Louvain, and to his friend, Everard de la Marck, Bishop of Liège, who had been designated to the archbishopric of Valencia, he writes, *de plein cœur* (in Latin):

The people of Valencia are 'by nature joyous, alert, facile, and yet tractable and obedient. . . . The members of the nobility are more numerous in that city than in any other, of marvellous magnificence, affability, and humanity. So fertile is the country there is almost none of the races of men, or any kind of fruit or vegetables or health-giving herbs, which it does not produce and pour forth in richest measure. It is so beautiful that there is no time in the year in which both the meadows and abundant trees are not clothed and painted with foliage, flowers, verdure and variety of colours. I speak of my country *somewhat modestly*, lest my words should afford ground for the suspicion that I was boasting.'

And yet—Vives had left Valencia, never

to return, at seventeen years of age. So strong and permanent are the experiences of youth of the impressionable type to which he belonged.

One striking characteristic of Vives's teaching, in which he was the pioneer amongst the Renascence humanists, was the encouragement of the study and use of the vernacular instead of the practice, common to the schools in all countries of his times, of the restriction of teaching and learning to the medium of the Latin language only. His plea for the use of the mother tongue appears to have its origins in the remembrance of Valencia. He appeals to the experience of Valencia since the time of James the Conqueror in 1238, and he also shrewdly points out that since that time the vernacular had itself developed, and hence the teacher ought to be familiar with the old forms of words, and the history of the development of the new words. All legal enactments, in the opinion of Vives, should be clearly expressed in the vernacular, and revised

Meeting-place of the Tribunal de Aguas, under the doorway of the Puerta de los Apóstolos of the Cathedral at Valencia

From a photograph by Arthur Watson

from time to time, to bring the language up to date. For every individual should realize exactly what is expected of him by legal authority. We can understand how Valencia gave Vives such a point of view, so far in advance of his times, when we recall that from time immemorial, to this very day, the Tribunal de Aguas meets every Thursday morning in front of the Puerta de los Apóstoles, of the Cathedral at Valencia, to adjudicate on all disputes connected with the irrigation system, a court necessarily conducted in the vernacular, and with its law procedure and traditions all passed on in the mother tongue.

Thus we see that in his educational views Vives was often unlike other scholars of his age, and that he found his inspirations largely, though sometimes perhaps unconsciously, from his early life in Valencia.

But not only in his native city, it was also in his native country, in the Spain of the Renascence, he found a lifelong

radiance of stimulus, of hopeful outlook, and of persistent colour of a culture which combined the old Moorish arts of civilization and the new vigorous attitude to life and thought of a united Aragon and Castile.

Strangely mixed were the old and the new, in the life of Valencia, when Vives was a boy at school there. We think more frequently of the Italian names of Pico, Valla, Ficinus, Politian, Bembo, Sadolet, or the northern names of Rudolph Agricola, Reuchlin, Melanchthon, and the great Erasmus. But, of real significance (though often overlooked by students of the Renascence period), were the Spanish scholars, such as Arias Barbosa, pupil of the Italian Politian who taught at Salamanca, and particularly Antonio of Lebrija (1441?–1522) or Antonius Nebrissensis, who had spent twenty years in Italy, and had lectured in succession at Seville, Salamanca, and Alcalá Let it not be forgotten that it was at Alcalá, the University of which, established about A.D. 1500, was fondly called

by Spaniards 'the eighth wonder of the world', that the great polyglot Bible, directed by Cardinal Jiménez, with its monumental scholarship, was compiled, by a company of scholars, mainly Spanish by birth, and certainly all Spanish in learned atmosphere. Jiménez conceived the idea of this co-operative undertaking in 1502, and the scholars were only able to complete the first volume containing the New Testament in 1514, after twelve years of labour (2). Four volumes devoted to the Old Testament were issued by 1517. It was from such examples of indefatigable toil that Vives, afterwards, at Louvain, in 1522, completed his own ponderous volume of text and commentaries of St. Augustine's *de Civitate Dei.* Such work as that of the Polyglot fascinated the scholars, young and old, and Vives was at the School or Academy of Valencia in the years immediately before 1508, whilst Jiménez's scholars were at work. For the Spanish Renascence, in its stride, established or strengthened a number of

classical schools, (2) e.g. that at Toledo was founded by Francisco Alvar; that of Sevilla by Roderigo de San Aelia; that of Granada by Talavera, Archbishop of Granada; that of Ognate by Mercato, Bishop of Avila; Ossuna by Giron, Count of Ureña; and Valencia, refounded by Pope Alexander VI. The Valencian School, in its intellectual and literary traditions, goes back to 1245, in the reign of the famous James I of Aragon, 'El Conquistador'.

Vives entered the school soon after it had received its new Statutes, in 1499, in all the consciousness of a revived past. His schoolmaster was Jerome Amiguet. The fame of Antony of Lebrija had reached, one might say had invaded, Valencia, and his reformed views of grammar teaching were supported, in that city, by Peter Badia. It is said that Amiguet set the boy Vives exercises in the routine disputations of the school, to oppose Lebrija's grammar, and the loyal boy had no hesitation in warmly espousing the side his master took. Thus

Vives first appears as a reactionary against the new learning. Spain, as indeed all countries of the time, was divided between intellectual reactionary and revolutionary scholars, and Vives, in his life, is an excellent representative of the Renascence scholar, for he ran through the whole gamut of progressiveness, starting at the very bottom. It was not to be long before Vives recognized that Lebrija was right and Amiguet wrong, and he then rendered full justice to the reformer. If his school-teachers were conservative, it is well to note that there were other forces at work in the city. For instance, Valencia was the first Spanish town to start a printing-press.

One other Valencian influence remains to be mentioned. Vives belonged to a noble family. His father, also named Luis Vives, was a Vives de Vergel or Verger, whose coat of arms was a stalk of immortelles in the midst of an orchard in a field of azure, with the device: *Siempre vivas.* His mother, Blanche March, was a remarkable

wife and mother, of the type of a Roman matron, belonging to the family which gave to Catalonia the national poet, Ausias March. Though both parents died whilst Luis was young, their influence was treasured by him throughout his life. He says of his mother that there was no one of whom he had so wholesome an awe when he was a child, and nobody he delighted so much to look upon as a youth and as a man, 'whose memory now I have in reverence, and as oft as she comes to my remembrance, I embrace her in my mind, when I cannot with my body', and he much shocked more phlegmatic scholars when he named her with Agnes, Agatha, Margaret, Monica, amongst the saints, moved to so include her by 'the truth'. The household was of the mediaeval type of family life. In many ways Vives was in a transitional world, between the mediaeval and the modern ages, and marvellously moving readily from one to the other, in his ceaseless response to the best in both.

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With these Spanish elements permeating his whole nature, for they had been ingrained in his impressionable and responsive youth, at seventeen years of age he left his beloved country for Paris, about to enter the world of intellectual claims which know no country, and the response to which becomes the cynosure of the best souls of all nationalities. This does not mean he left Spain behind. Vives is remarkable in that he never left his experiences behind. He never turned his back on himself. He became a cosmopolitan, but he took his Spanish foundations, traditions, atmosphere with him wherever he went, and transfigured old and new experiences with the richest spirit of humanism.

The Princess Catharine, born, we remember, in 1485, left Spain, to be married to the English Arthur, Prince of Wales, who died a few months after marriage, in 1502. In 1509 she was married to Arthur's brother, Henry VIII. Catharine became Queen-Consort of England from 1509 onwards, and had remained entirely

in England from 1502 to 1523, when Luis Vives came to London, and the Queen and her compatriot first met. During those fourteen years in which Catharine had been Queen the youthful Spanish background of experience in the brilliant Court of her parents contributed its influence to the intellectual side of Henry VIII's Court. In the meantime Luis Vives was gathering knowledge and experience, and developing a cosmopolitan transfiguration, in his Spanish heritage of thought and life. Different as their courses of experiences were to be, they were ready to understand each other, for both were Spaniards at heart. Compatriots and friends by both agreements and differences in disposition, the greatest shadow of Vives's life was when he had to separate himself from his Spanish royal friend. His connexion with England is all bound up with the changing fortunes of Catharine.

It was a strange coincidence, the leaving of their native Spain, of these two—the

princess of the royal family and the son of a noble family—each in about the seventeenth year of age, each to be a factor, in some not inconsiderable degree, in the progress of English education and culture. The misfortune which was overwhelming the one was to involve the other. Starting from Spain, with some glow of hope for a future career elsewhere, both were to find the critical catastrophe at the English Court, where, on the whole, both had enjoyed the highest exercise of their intellectual activities and social energies.

II

THE TRAINING OF LUIS VIVES IN FRANCE

THE absorbing basis of the mediaeval scholastic discipline was the disputation. 'When a boy is brought to school', says Vives, describing the schools of his age, 'on the very first day, immediately he is taught to wrangle, though as yet unable to talk. The same practice is followed in grammar, in the poets, in history, in dialectic and rhetoric, in every subject. Nothing is so clear that some bit of a question cannot be raised about it, and, even as by a wind, be stirred into action. Beginners are accustomed never to be silent, to asseverate confidently, never to be silent, lest at any time they should seem to have ceased speaking. At breakfast they wrangle;

after breakfast they wrangle; at supper they wrangle; after supper they wrangle. At meals, at the bath, in the sweating-room, in the temple, in the city, in the country, in public, in private, in every place, at every time, they are wrangling.' A boy was practised in disputing on grammatical questions, beginning his career of altercation, and death alone making an end of it for the scholar.

Such is the vivid description of school life by Vives himself. The University courses at Paris provided further opportunity for permeating the student in the same atmosphere. It was Erasmus and Vives who burst through the mists and fogs of scholastic disputation into the sunshine of humanism, and the joy of noble literature. Erasmus says of Vives that whilst he was in bondage to these subtle but infantile disciplines of scholasticism, '*no one played his part as sophist better than he*'. The tortuous and elaborate windings of wordy disputation at Paris were in direct continuity to the

school discipline of Valencia, in spite of the new light bursting in on the old classical literature, from the Italian, and, let us add, the Spanish Renascence. The saving of Vives was the persistence of the out-of-school life, in the enjoyment of nature. For in the midst of the Paris studies, full of sound and fury as dialectical displays, came the restful memories of the sense-impressions of his Valencian childhood, which became transfigured into the material of the later intellectual conceptions of the man. For the greater the intellectual ability of any man, the greater the probability that he has pondered over, and become permeated by the sense-impressions of the external world, as a child.

Mediaevalism, with its ascetic types, turned the whole current of life and thought into scholastic impression, intellect became synonymous with logical and metaphysical categories. It was as if subject-matter for thought were of no consequence. The modern world found a new unity, that of impression, and com-

bined it with expression. But we do not always realize how true is the Wordsworthian dictum that the 'child is father of the man' in, say, Shakespeare. The deepest impressions welcomed into the mind from outward nature do not lead to the highest expression of them in terms of thought at the moment of reception, through the senses. Within the significance of this process lies the whole art of education, and no one who looks at it from this point of view can fail to perceive that much of the process in the individual is bound to be self-education, and that the institutional education (often supposed to be the all-important influence of life) should have for chief aim the removal of all fetters and restrictions to the direct experience of the best in man, and the best in nature. And so, behind the formal studies and curriculum of the University of Paris, and in the end more powerful than all the instructional institutionalism, were in Vives the vivid and active, though subconscious, images of

Valencian *huerta* and market, of the rich colouring and the beautiful outlines of fruit, food, and flowers, in other words, of that contemplative love of nature which gives life and meaning to sense-memories, which, throughout life, enters, bidden and unbidden, into the study of imagination. This is the point of view which, once grasped by Vives, made early disputational education seem to him to be inane and futile. It was Vives, with his early Valencian background, and not even Erasmus, at any rate not so emphatically (with his early conventional training), who entered into this new outlook with such educational energy and purpose as in religion would be designated as a conversion.

Whilst these early nature experiences in his Valencian boyhood were in the depths of his mind, his Spanish descent was not all gain. For, though the best of Spanish leaders of the time deserve more recognition than they have often received at the other end of the scale, Spanish

intellectual (if they deserve the term at all) reactionaries, were amongst the most hopeless in their utter stagnation of mediaevalism, at Paris, as elsewhere. With his devotion to his own Spain and Spaniards, Vives at first closely associated with the Spanish element in the University. At Paris, Spanish lecturers (instruction, of course, was in Latin) were well represented. There was, for example, Juan de Celaya, a Valencian, at the College of Sainte-Barbe. The learned Coroneles from Segovia were at the Montaigu (Erasmus's old college), Juan Dolz del Castellar was at the Collège de Lyon, and Ferdinand de Enzinas, of Valladolid, was at the Collège de Beauvais. To which college Vives was attached is not certain, but Vanden Bussche (an authority who is exacting towards himself in forming his opinions) thinks he was probably a student at this Collège de Beauvais. But everywhere the teaching staffs adopted the same methods. For there was a deadening monotony of attitude, all going about with

their eyes (intellectually) bandaged. Their methods included the choosing of short passages, or short texts, from recognized theologians and metaphysicians, the reproduction of seas of commentaries and glosses regarding the chosen 'texts'. Teachers and students were soon involved in 'realitates', 'formalitates', 'entitates', 'de modo significandi vocum'. All these details and many more are described in Vives's work, *de Causis Corruptarum Artium*, 1531 (one of the divisions of the *De disciplinis*), and in the earlier *in pseudo-dialecticos*, 1519, which we shall presently have to consider.

Vives, for Easter Day, 1514, whilst still a student, produced his first booklet, which was of a religious tendency, *Christi Jesu Triumphus*. In it we are especially fortunate to have a description of a gathering of student friends, chiefly Spanish. Vives relates how he and his friends agreed, after religious devotions at church, to spend the afternoon together. Later, their tutor, a Spaniard, Caspar Lax, invites them to

meet, at supper, two fellow citizens of Valencia, who bring an illuminated Book of Hours. Vives examines a miniature, depicting the Triumph of Caesar. Caspar Lax remarks: 'How much more excellent if the subject had been Christ, our Optimus Maximus, instead of Caesar, "a man by no means *good*"!' Vives then asks Lax to explain what he means by the 'triumph of Christ'.

This first book of Vives is in dialogue form, not unlike the method of the famous gatherings of the Italian humanists in the villas below Fiesole or at the ducal Court of Urbino or of Mantua. Vives has begun to enter into the atmosphere of the Italian Renascence, in spite of his scholastic training. The difference, however, is more striking than the resemblance. Instead of the noble banquets of the rich South, we meet with the little cubiculum of Caspar Lax, the tutor of Vives. Instead of princes or nobles we are presented to a gathering of young Spanish students at Paris, including Peter Iborra,

Miguel de San Angel, Francisco Cristóbal, and Caspar Lax, who came from Sarineña, in Aragon. The only guest, not Spanish, present was John Fortis (or Sterck), a student-friend of Vives, who came from Louvain. Instead of the pagan colouring of the Florentine philosophical banquets, this little Spanish academic gathering at Paris is almost primitive Christian in its supper in the little room, and the keenness of its interest in the Triumph of the Prince of Peace, as against the Caesar of War. It is of great interest to note that Vives has become disillusioned. The Spanish group of students and teachers at Paris are 'like a band of unconquered men, defending the citadel of ignorance'. The youth of Paris are taught 'to know nothing and yet to rave with a mad fury of words'. From this sweeping criticism he excepts the Spanish Juan Población and Juan de Enzinas.

Vives is distressed at the sorry figures the rest of his Spaniards cut before the best of the cultured world. He is not only

wounded in his patriotism, but also perplexed what action to take in helping to remedy the faults of these scholastic Spaniards. He became attracted away from the Italian Renascence, though he recognized the worth of Béroald, Girolamo Balbi, Cornelio Vitelli, and the progressive though too ostentatious prominence of Faustus Andrelinus, at Paris. But neither the Spanish nor the Italian academic leaders really attracted him. On the whole, whilst a student, and indeed afterwards, the Flemish scholars and scholarship counted the most with Luis Vives. He reverenced the severer, simpler, and absolutely sincere religious attitude and human sympathies of the Flemish scholars. In the spirit of his life, he might well have belonged to the leading Flemish educationists, the Brethren of the Common Life, with the noble tradition of Thomas à Kempis behind them. He had a large measure of their simple, fervent piety and unaffected love of knowledge. And to these characteristics Vives added an open-

mindedness, due specially to his enterprising birthplace, Valencia, with its active law-courts, merchants' hall, its myriad-coloured market-place, and the double currents of Catalan traditions and of Arabic culture, besides the ancient associations with Rome, which traced back to a Spanish-born Seneca and Quintilian. Nor were the Flemish scholars, eventually, without some sound sense of Vives's intellectual ancestry, in bestowing on him the name of 'the second Quintilian'. Such antecedents brought Vives very near to the great and distinctive Flemish scholars, Robert Gaguin, Arnold de Bost, Pierre Burry, Pierre de Ponte, and that pathetic figure, Charles Fernand of Bruges, who, though himself blind, wrote the touching Latin treatise, *de Animi Tranquillitate.*

When Vives left Paris in 1514 he went to Flanders, first to Bruges, afterwards to Louvain. Nowhere out of Spain itself could he have found more of the Spanish spirit and thought, especially on the active and practical side of life. Señor Pin y

Soler well says, 'Bruges, Brussels, Ghent, Antwerp, Louvain, were prolongations of the Fatherland of Spain, and especially Bruges.' At Bruges Vives was soon on terms of intimacy with Bernard Valdaura and his wife, Clara Cervent, both Spaniards by descent, whose daughter, Margaret, Vives, later on, married. Valdaura's wife descended from a Valencian family. At Bruges occurred the meeting of Vives with the Spanish Ignatius Loyola, coming between 1528 and 1534 to collect alms from his Spanish compatriots there.

Though indications of the change in Vives's attitude towards scholasticism are to be seen in the *Christi Jesu Triumphus* in 1514, the actual cataclysmic break came in the *In pseudo-dialecticos* in 1519, and is also associated with Paris. In that year Vives returned from Flanders, and delivered his whole soul in that remarkable book, a book written in Latin and never translated into English. Sir Henry Taylor said 'the world knows nothing of its greatest men'. So it might, with some

gleam of truth, be said that the world knows little of its greatest era-marking books.

This trenchant attack on the scholastic reactionaries is a companion-volume to Erasmus's *Moriae Encomium*, the Praise of Folly, published eight years earlier. Erasmus's book is a masterpiece of satire; but equally Vives's book, though neglected, is a masterpiece of educational invective. Vives is in grim earnest—a youth of twenty-seven years of age, in the recoil from the weariness of the methods which held him in fetters at Valencia and as a student at Paris: 'I received them into my mind, when I was impressionable. I applied myself to them with the highest zeal. They stick tenaciously. They came into my mind against my will. They stupefy my mind just as I am reaching forward to better things.' What would one not give, he cries out, to un-teach them from one's mind—money, clothes, books, any material commodity!

In the *in pseudo-dialecticos* we see Vives

in the act of throwing authority aside. It is like Luther proclaiming his theses at Wittenberg, or Copernicus affirming the motion of the earth. Vives is an intellectual Caesar crossing the Rubicon from the mediaeval to the modern era of thought. It is surely a supreme moment, and his book is worthy of recognition, side by side with Erasmus and his *Moriae Encomium.*

With the clear-sightedness of an independent thinker Vives points out that the incessant dialectic, or logic, is not an art, to be learned as an end in itself, but it is truly an instrument, an *organon.* It is a servant only.

He drives his point home:

'Who could tolerate the painter occupying the whole of his life in preparing his brush, and mixing his pigments, or the cobbler spending his life in sharpening his needles, his awls, and his knives, and twisting and smearing his threads? If this expenditure of time would be intolerable over *good* logic, what language is adequate to designate that babbling which has corrupted every branch of knowledge.'

In one passage he says that if the corrupt Latin used by the academic disputants was translated into the ordinary vernacular the whole host of manual workmen, 'with hissing and clamour and the clanging of tools, would hoot the dialecticians out of Paris'. This is the first appeal that I know of away from the learned scholars to the working-man, to the common-sense of the man in the street, and manifests a democratic attitude, which the young Spanish aristocrat by birth was to develop further when he came to England.

Vives had the prophet's inspiring vision in such a passage as:

'I see from the depths a change is coming. Amongst all the nations men are springing up, of clear, excellent and free intellects, impatient of servitude, determined to thrust off the yoke of this tyranny from their necks. They are calling their fellow-citizens to liberty.'

But, buoyant as such a passage is, there was pathos and suffering for the reformer.

ARMS OF THE VIVES FAMILY

'I recognized I was changing the old for the new, what I had already acquired in the way of knowledge for what had yet to be won, what was secured for what was uncertain.' He describes the intellectual anxiety, and the consequent nights of sleeplessness during his mental struggles.

'The change was so odious to me that often I turned away from the thought of the better humanist studies to my old scholastic studies, so that I might persuade myself that I had not spent so many years at Paris to no good purpose.'

The treatise was of extraordinary effect, in dividing Paris into the party of humanists and the party of the old paths. Erasmus wrote to Sir Thomas More, in England, with admiring frankness: 'Vives is one who will overshadow the name of Erasmus.' The latter had reached fifty-five years of age. The young reformer was, we have seen, but twenty-seven years old.

III

LUIS VIVES'S RELATIONS TO SIR THOMAS MORE AND CARDINAL WOLSEY

Luis Vives had written other books besides the *In pseudo-dialecticos* by 1519, and his writings had received the distinction of being forwarded to Thomas More for his opinion. The latter, in answer, declared: 'I am ashamed of myself and of others with like advantages, who take credit to themselves for this or that insignificant booklet, when I see a young man like Vives producing so many well-digested works.' Erasmus, in this same year 1519, suggested Vives's name as tutor for Ferdinand, brother of the Emperor Charles V, and stated 'I hardly know any one I would dare to

match with him. When he declaims, you would think his subject-matter had its source in those most happy times of Cicero and Seneca.' Erasmus adds that Vives was 'Spanish with a fine strain of French in him, through having lived some years in Paris'. By 1521 it is clear that Thomas More had befriended Vives financially, and it is at this date that Queen Catharine also first helped Vives, though Vives had as yet met neither More nor the Queen-consort.

In political history readers are familiar with the famous meeting of the Emperor Charles V and Cardinal Wolsey at Bruges, in August 1521. There was a great concourse of important diplomatists, and of other notable people. One of the most picturesque figures must have been Ferdinand Colon (Columbus), son of Christopher Columbus, the discoverer of the New World. Ferdinand Colon had been at Louvain, where Erasmus presented him with a copy of his *Antibarbarorum liber*. For Ferdinand Colon's mission to Flanders

was the collection of manuscripts and books, old and new, for his great library at Sevilla. But besides the political meeting which brought to Bruges such distinguished Englishmen as Wolsey, Cuthbert Tunstall, and William Blount, Lord Mountjoy, the pupil and patron of Erasmus, it is not often remembered that there was a remarkable literary conference of scholars gathered together, at the same time, in the hospitable quarters of Marcus Laurinus, dean of the convent of St. Donatian's at Bruges. This gathering is an interesting instance of the international goodwill of scholars, and the central advantage of Bruges, in the interchange of thought. Here, especially, English, Spanish, and French came into contact. Here in all probability was Vives's first introduction to some of the leading English scholars, particularly Sir Thomas More. Vives was on his own ground, for though he had been writing at Louvain, and had been in close converse with Erasmus there, he had had a nervous

breakdown, and had retreated to Bruges, living in a house comfortably furnished and placed at his disposal by Pedro de Aguirra, a Spanish compatriot of Vives, who took care of him like a father. Recovering slowly from his illness, attracted by kindnesses already shown to him by English people, stirred by the patronage already extended to him by Queen Catharine of Aragon, Vives felt drawn to the thought of England as a home. We can easily understand that Vives and Thomas More had much in common. At this time, Vives was engaged on editing the Latin of the *Civitas Dei* of St. Augustine, together with comprehensive commentaries. This most laborious work, undertaken at the request of Erasmus, with hope of the keenly desired reward—that, as the result of his toil, he might win the appreciation of that great prince of the literary world—had been the cause of the breakdown already mentioned. After the Bruges literary gathering, Vives set to work to complete the task. But it is worth

while to recall the fact that Thomas More himself had lectured (3) on St. Augustine's *Civitas Dei*, in the Church of St. Lawrence, Old Jewry, in London, and the younger man would be fortified by his sympathy, for More, as every one knows, had a genius for friendship. On July 7, 1522, Vives had finished his great enterprise, and his attraction towards England was finally betokened in his massive work, by a long Latin dedication of the folio-volume to King Henry VIII. In his dedication, he says to the king, at the time thirty-one years of age (a year older than Vives), 'He who should offer you gold, silver, or gems, garments, horses or armour, would be pouring water into the sea. With the highest wisdom you think that that kind of glory which best becomes your virtue is purchased with all posterity by books and monuments of learned men, to whom you show yourself so affable and gracious.' This recognition of Henry VIII's appreciation of learning, is, we know from other sources, to be regarded

as one of the complex factors of that monarch's personality. His answer to Vives was not sent for full six months (4). It was, of course, in Latin, and its cordiality must have been a great encouragement to Vives:

'Worthy Sir, our well-beloved friend. As soon as S. Augustine's *Civitas Dei* came to our hands, illuminated by your Commentaries, it was right welcome. It, indeed, raised the doubt within us, whom we should chiefly congratulate, whether, firstly, you, who have brought to a close, by such learned labour, so choice a work; or, secondly, S. Augustine, who has been for so long a time, so imperfectly accessible, and who now at last is brought from darkness to light, restored to his ancient integrity; or thirdly, all posterity, for whose great profit your Commentaries are now at hand. Since it has pleased you to dedicate those Commentaries to our name, we cannot but retain a grateful mind, and return you our warm thanks; especially as your kind attention shows no ordinary love and observance towards us. For which reasons, *we can assure you that our favour and good-will shall*

never fail in your affairs, whenever opportunity shall offer itself on our part to be of helpfulness to you. From our Court at Greenwich, 24 Jan. 1523.'

What wonder that Luis Vives, weary with his struggling fortunes in Flanders, turned towards the sunlight of the Royal Court in England, with eager eyes. The only competing attraction was Spain, and though his native country had been also in his mind, his return thither proved unpracticable.

Thus assured of King Henry VIII's good will, and knowing from experience the kind and practical interest in his welfare of the Spanish Queen Catharine, and having good reason for believing the powerful Wolsey and the benevolent Thomas More would welcome him in their midst, Luis Vives came to England in 1523, with the uncommon record of Spanish bringing-up, French training in scholarship, and Flemish experience in authorship, and the close association with the nationless humanist, the uncrowned

president of the republic of letters, Erasmus.

The Spanish internationalist was warmly welcomed in England. The King and the Queen at once entrusted the direction of the teaching of their daughter, the princess Mary, jointly to Vives and the distinguished physician-humanist, Thomas Linacre, friend of Erasmus and Thomas More. Vives drew up a plan of girls' education for the young princess. He then devised a plan of boys' education, dedicated to Charles, the son of the William Blount, Lord Mountjoy (pupil and friend of Erasmus), whom he had met at the literary assembly at Bruges.

Before reaching England Vives had dedicated a book on women's education (5) to Queen Catharine. *The Instruction of a Christian Woman*, as it was called in the English translation by Richard Hyrde, was not published (6) till in or about 1540. Indirectly this work illustrates the intimate association of Luis Vives with Thomas More, and furnishes

some details which are not as yet commonly known. Richard Hyrde, the translator, was a young Oxford man, of Greek and Latin learning, 'and experience of physic', who died on Lady Day, 1528, at Orvieto, on the way with Fox and Gardiner to the Pope, in furtherance of a mission from Henry VIII. Hyrde's name has probably been obscured in the biographies of Thomas More, by receiving the spelling of Richard 'Harte'. Anyway, before undertaking the papal mission Hyrde, in 1524, had been dwelling in the house of Thomas More, at Chelsea. As Vives's *de Institutione Foeminae Christianae* was published at Antwerp in 1524, we can infer that Hyrde wrote his translation some time between 1524–8. His English preface relates how intently he had wished to render this book available for English readers, and how he 'secretly' made the translation. He then showed it, as his custom was on finishing any work, to his 'singular good master and bringer-up, Sir Thomas More', who

informed him—to Hyrde's great surprise—that he (More) had intended, 'his manifold business notwithstanding, to have translated this book himself, in which he was (as he said) very glad he was now prevented (7), not for eschewing of his labour, which he would have been very glad to bestow therein, but for because that the fruit thereof may now sooner come forth'. They struck a compromise. Hyrde's translation was to stand, but Thomas More would and did 'read it over and correct it'. Gregorius Majansius. the first biographer of Vives, says that Queen Catharine valued the work so highly that she had it paid for from the Royal Treasury.

Honoured at Court, and befriended by Thomas More, Luis Vives had not been forgotten by the great Cardinal Wolsey, who had just founded six lectureships at Oxford, to one of which he at once appointed Vives. Rooms were allocated to him in Corpus Christi College, the college in which the founder, Bishop Fox, had

required in his Statutes that lectureships should be opened to foreigners as well as Englishmen. Vives does not appear to have lectured at Oxford for more than part of two or three years, but he was associated with the Royal Court at Richmond and Greenwich during the whole of his residence in England. He had also his own rooms near the Tower of London. During the years 1523–8 he spent a portion of each year in Bruges, a fact natural enough when it is remembered that he married Margaret Valdaura (8), of that city, in 1524.

At Oxford Vives met a Flemish noble, Louis de Flandre, Seigneur de Präet, who induced him to write the *de Consultatione*, a short treatise on rhetoric. Ben Jonson afterwards lavishly availed himself of passages from this treatise of Vives without any acknowledgement, in his *Timber; or Discoveries made upon Men and Matter*. At Oxford, too, in 1523, Vives translated, into Latin from the Greek, the *Areopagitica* and the *Nicocles*, two orations

of Isocrates, and dedicated his translation to Cardinal Wolsey, 'from whom', he says, 'I have never come away empty-handed (*indonatus*)', and whose kindness and good will to students are 'incredible'. He makes a report to Wolsey on his teaching work at Oxford, the youth of Oxford are more inclined daily to 'good letters'. In philosophy he has helped, he adds, to remove many *pravas opiniones*, a remark which shows that Vives found the old Parisian scholasticism not without witness at Oxford. It was from Oxford he dedicated the Plan of Girls' Education, for the use of the little Mary, then a child of seven years. From this fact, probably, has sprung the ungrounded tradition that he continuously taught the child, and, for the same reason, the quite unestablished story has sometimes gained acceptance, that Henry VIII and Queen Catharine journeyed to Oxford to attend his lectures.

Vives was a many-sided man; in his own time and after he was called by the old-world term, a 'polymath'. This may

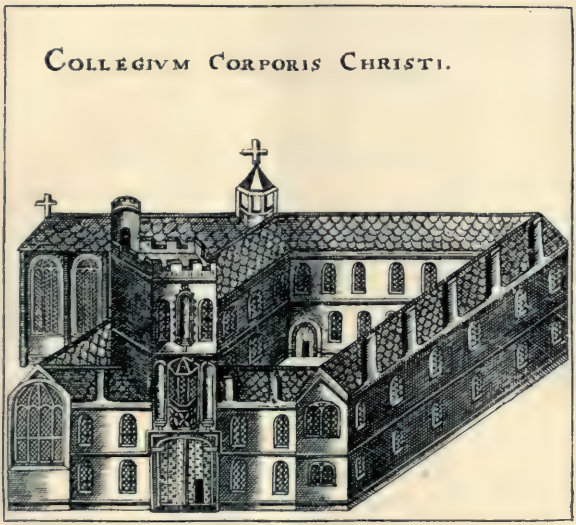
be illustrated in connexion with his Oxford lectures. He was lecturer in rhetoric, or in classical literature, for the humanists gladly identified their subject-matter with rhetoric, to escape the ignominy of being, by any chance, identified with mediaeval logic-teaching, rhetoric clearly being the one of the old seven 'liberal arts' which seemed to be associated with great literature, for which they cared supremely. For Vives, rhetoric was no narrowly restricted subject. No one, however, would expect to find the Spanish Luis Vives breaking up ground in British Antiquities, a subject far removed, it might be supposed, from 'rhetoric'. But John Twyne wrote an out-of-the-way book on British antiquities (9), in which he relates imaginary conversations he used to have with Abbot Vochius, and Prior Digon, of the Augustinian Monastery near Canterbury, before the Dissolution of the Monasteries. Digon, apparently, and a young man, Nicholas Wotton, had been pupils of Vives, and are among the interlocutors. Vochius quotes Vives on the

question of the trade voyages of the Phoenicians to Britain, and is represented as saying that by their introduction of covetous and contentious ways in Spain, the Phoenicians were the initiators of 'the present and future miseries' of that country. Then Vives continued, 'I have in mind the writing of a book in Latin on what the Latin and Greek historians say on subjects of Spanish history and thus I intend to illustrate Spanish historical origins'. This book, unfortunately, was never written, but the quotation serves to show how constantly Spain was in the background of his thoughts, even in England, and how he sought to bring to bear on historical questions, generally, the concentration of mind and methods of inquiry restricted by most scholars to matters solely concerned with Greek and Roman history. Twyne gives an account of an interesting talk of Vives on the subject of Merlin, and the whole treatise suggests the spirit and methods which Vives had suggested to the mind of John Twyne,

stimulated thus in the direction of British national archaeology, of which subject Twyne was one of the effective founders in England.

'I myself', says Twyne, 'knew Vives, honoured him and heard him lecturing on authors, whilst he abode in the sacred College of Corpus Christi, at Oxford'. Among the bonds which should link the Spanish Luis Vives to England and the English, not the least is the influence he exercised on John Twyne, who, with his sons Thomas and Lawrence and his grandson Brian, were the pioneers in the inquiries into English historical origins, by nearly half a century, before William Camden, John Speed, and the famous efforts of the Assembly of the Antiquaries, a society founded by Matthew Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury, in 1572.

So broad then was Vives's view of rhetoric teaching, that in his lectures he gave a stimulus to the earliest University studies in British antiquities.



VIEW OF CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE OXFORD. Beerblocke, 1566

IV

LUIS VIVES IN LONDON

WHEN Luis Vives wrote his congratulations to the Archbishop designate of Valencia, Everard de la Marck, in 1520, he dwelt upon the clearness and purity of the Valencian sky. When he came to spend his first winter in England he wrote to the amanuensis of Erasmus, Gilbertus Cognatus, lamenting that in England the climate is windy, thick, humid. 'All kinds of food are different from what I am accustomed to have', the Valencian-born Vives tells his friend. And though Vives was attached to the Court when the term's lectures were over at Oxford, he had his lodgings in the district near the Tower, and thus describes the discomfort of his

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residence in London, in a letter to a Spanish friend, Christopher Miranda:

'I have a narrow den for a sleeping place, and in it no chair, no table. Other people have their quarters around it, in which there is such great and constant noise, that it is impossible to settle one's mind to anything, however much one may wish. Moreover, I live a distance from the royal palace [this apparently refers to Greenwich], and in order not to lose the whole day by often going and returning, from early morning till late evening I have no time at home. . . . Whilst eating I read; but I eat little, for with so much sitting I cannot digest. Life here is such that I cannot hide my ennui.'

Yet he tells us that in these lodgings a certain Spaniard, Alvaro de Castro, was his fellow lodger and slept in the same chamber, and the two Spaniards were as brothers in mutual love and goodwill. Castro urged Vives to write a companion volume to the *de Institutione Foeminae Christianae* (which had treated of the development of a Christian woman)—by detailing the parallel duties and respon-

sibilities of husbands. Castro further begged Vives to write such a treatise in Spanish, so that they could discuss the subject-matter together. Accordingly, in these London lodgings, Vives wrote the only work he ever wrote in Spanish, but eventually translated his Spanish manuscript into Latin, before the treatise was published under the title *de Officio Mariti* at Bruges in 1528.

But, whilst living in London, the great joy fell to Vives of forgetting his dingy, squalid lodgings, by going to the Court of King Henry VIII, to which Queen Catharine had brought a more precious heritage than the financial dowry, about which there had been so much squabbling. No slight reflection of the splendour of the Court of her parents, Ferdinand and Isabella, was manifest in their daughter, and her influence in the English Court. The nature of this atmosphere we shall follow in more detail presently.

But it is necessary to refer now to the oft-told story of Sir Thomas More's home

at Chelsea, for it was the good fortune of Luis Vives to arrive in London in the very year in which Sir Thomas More established himself in the Manor House, 'a right fair one', with library, books, gallery, with its gateway and gardens, stretching one hundred yards, spreading down to the Thames. Erasmus's description of the spirit of that home has become almost classical.

'There', says Erasmus (10), 'More converses affably with his family, his wife, his son and daughter-in-law, his three daughters and their husbands, with eleven grandchildren. There is no man living so loving with his children as he is. He loves his old wife as if she was a young maid . . . You would say his house was Plato's Academy. I should rather call it a school, or University, of Christian religion. There is none therein who does not study the branches of a liberal education. Their special care is piety and virtue. There is no quarrelling, or intemperate words heard. None is idle. Everybody performs his duty with alacrity, and sober mirth is not lacking.'

No haven of rest could be more congenial to Luis Vives. In many ways More's house was like his old Valencian home (11), in which his grandfather, Henry March, had instructed the young Luis in the elements of law, and where he had gained an interest in medicine, which never left him.

Vives and More became the warmest friends. Both were abstemious, drinking only water. Both were simple in clothes. Vives writing against women's lavishness in dress with stinging words, and More's irony in the *Utopia* (where the natives made use of gold and jewels for childish playthings and in place of household crockery)—are closely sympathetic in tendency. Both, attached to Courts, were enemies of empty ceremonial and compliments. Both were intensely and simply pious. Both delighted in composition of Latin epigrams, and learned exercises of the scholar, and whilst in Flanders Vives had entered into friendly communications with More's children over literary exercises.

When Vives came to England in 1523 he was thirty-one years of age; More was forty-five, and his father, the judge, John More, was seventy. Margaret, Thomas More's daughter, who married William Roper, was eighteen, Elizabeth seventeen, Cecilia fifteen, and John, the son, fourteen. Their literary and intellectual visitors were of all ages. When Vives wrote his *de Tradendis Disciplinis* (published 1531), his conception of education in an Academy, *covered the whole of life*, and in this idea we can trace the atmosphere of 'The School of More', as the common literary and studious activities of his family and their friends were often called. Learned men he constantly entertained as tutors for the stimulation of the children and the adults of the family. Amongst these tutors were, at one time or another, John Clement (12), William Gonell, Drew, Nicholas, and the Richard Hyrde to whom we have referred as the translator into English of Vives's *de Institutione Foeminae Christianae*, with which translation, we

saw, Thomas More associated himself as reviser.

One further fact about Richard Hyrde deserves to be noted, for it has not received the attention it deserves in Renascence history. In 1523 Margaret Roper, More's daughter, translated into English Erasmus's commentary on the Lord's Prayer, and to this translation was prefixed a prefatory letter written by Hyrde. This preface is probably the first document written in English in which women's education is openly commended. Here, in this group of Thomas More, Erasmus, Luis Vives, and Richard Hyrde, is the concentrated leadership in this movement for the higher education of women (13). Thomas More was the direct inspirer of Erasmus and of Richard Hyrde in these views. At least it can be said of Luis Vives, that his book was written before he came to England, and three years before that of Erasmus. A close examination of the books of Vives and of Erasmus would show that Vives is more thoroughgoing in his inquiry into the

grounds and processes of women's education, and that his treatment places his book as the most original and persuasive plea that had been made, with a special view to the consideration of England (for the dedication to Queen Catharine suggests that Vives aimed primarily at reaching English scholars)—within the whole course of the Mediaeval and Renascence ages. The distinctive merit of Hyrde's letter is that it is an educational document in the English language.

In his *Instruction of a Christian Woman* Vives emphasizes the educational practice that had distinguished the Spanish Queen Isabella's Court, and that which was also to be found in the English household of Sir Thomas More. These passages, not generally known, are worth quoting. As to Spain, Vives says:

'Among all good women, it is a shame to be idle. Therefore Queen Isabella taught her daughters to spin, sew and paint; of whom two were Queens of Portugal, the third of Spain, mother of the Emperor

Charles, and the fourth most holy and devout wife unto the most gracious King Henry VIII of England.'

And again:

'There hath been seen in our time the four daughters of Queen Isabel, that were well learned all. It is told me, in many places, that dame Joan, the wife of King Philip, mother of Charles, was wont to make answer in Latin, and that without any study, to the orations that were made after the custom in towns, to new princes. And likewise the Englishmen say by their queen sister to Joan.'

With regard to Sir Thomas More's daughters, Vives's testimony is:

'Now if a man may be suffered among queens to speak of more mean folks I would reckon the daughters of Sir Thomas More, Margaret, Elizabeth, Cecilia (and with them their kinswoman, Margaret Giggs), whom their father, not content only to have them good and very chaste, would also that they should be well learned. . . . For the study of learning occupieth one's mind wholly and

lifteth it up into the knowledge of most goodly matters.'

We see, then, that Vives brings together Spain and England, in his illustrations of the advocacy of women's education.

Among the foreign correspondents of More, and on occasion his visitors, were such foreigners as Budé, Dorpius, Peter Gilles, Beatus Rhenanus, John Cochlée, Francis Craneveldt, Conrad Goclenius, Cornelius Crocus, George Brice, Simon Grynaeus, and, of course, Erasmus. Such a list shows the international basis of More's interests. The same feature characterizes Luis Vives, for most of More's friends were also his friends. There was a wonderful intellectual communism of scholars.

As to the personal intercourse of Luis Vives with English people, we find that the actual visitors to More's house, during Vives's stay in England, apparently included William Blount, Lord Mountjoy, the Countess of Salisbury, Reginald Pole,

THOMAS MORE

From the family group of Holbein

John Fisher, Cuthbert Tunstall, Sir Thomas and Lady Elyot, William Lily, and probably he would meet such interesting people as Richard Croke, John Heywood, and John Leland. Of course, too, King Henry VIII delighted to drop in on More. Sir Thomas More had opened out to the learned world in the *Utopia* (1516) the heart-stirring problems of social life, with a literary charm combined with passionate earnestness, unparalleled in the Renascence. In the free interchange of thought, in the gatherings at his house, by the fireside in the winter, and in the garden in the summer, there can be no doubt that the large-souled friends developed together the new note of the Renascence, so characteristic of More and Vives, so noticeably lacking in the Italian scholars, and even in Erasmus, often far to seek, and certainly, in his ordinary moods, occupying so subordinate a position, viz. the enthusiasm for humanity, as distinct from the passion for scholarship, manifesting itself in contem-

plation and concern for the great mass of the people, and regarding the development of the well-being of the community as more urgent than the self-absorption of the scholars.

Luis Vives gave expression to this attitude in the *de Tradendis Disciplinis* in 1531, in the declaration: 'We (scholars) must transfer our solicitudes (from princes) to the people.' And again: 'This is the fruit of all studies; this is the goal. Having acquired our knowledge, *we must turn it to usefulness*, and employ it for the common good.'

For Vives this was no mere counsel of perfection. His whole course of development had been in this direction. The *in pseudo-dialecticos* aimed at the emancipation of the ordinary student from the subtleties of the professional dialectician. His Commentaries on St. Augustine's *City of God* brought common sense even into theological disquisition. His *Instruction of a Christian Woman* was the decisive modern beginning of the movement

for the emancipation of women, educationally. And so, too, in 1526, during his connexion with the English Court, though in the quiet retreat of his home at Bruges, his treatise was published on poor-relief (the *de Subventione Pauperum*), the first book to advocate the extension of responsibility (for the well-being of the very poor) to civic and lay authorities, away from the reliance upon the old methods of almsgiving of the ecclesiastical institutions, and to emphasize the importance of the organization and co-ordination of all the resources for helping the poor—to avoid overlapping on the one hand, and the neglect of the deserving and modest (who need even seeking out) on the other. He protests as vigorously against shameless ecclesiastical officials in charge of hospitals, for the sick, disregarding every duty, and brutally and cynically appropriating the revenues to their own private advantage, as previously he had exposed the dialecticians and mediaeval metaphysicians. He advocated

outdoor and home relief, and suggested principles which are accepted now under the name of Charity Organization. He pleaded for the educational training of the children of the submerged poor. For the relief of the mentally defective, he makes many educational proposals; so, too, for the blind, the deaf, the insane. No doubt some of the suggestions came to his mind from the conditions of the old Valencian life, derived from the old medical Moorish experiences in Valencia, showing lines of direction in dealing with the distressing sides of Flemish and English poverty. His book is courageous and remarkable in its resourceful suggestions, and particularly in its altogether new municipal spirit.

'As it is disgraceful', he pleads, 'for the father of a family in his comfortable home to permit anyone in it to suffer the disgrace of being unclothed or in rags, it is similarly unfitting that the magistrates of a city should tolerate a condition in which citizens are hard pressed by hunger and distress.'

The *rapprochement* of More to Vives was that of personal affection and also that of a scholar to a scholar. But in addition they were drawn together by the common principle of a deepening love of mankind, typified in the one by the *Utopia*, in the other by the *de Subventione Pauperum*.

V

THE AGE OF QUEEN CATHARINE OF ARAGON

We usually accept the Age of Queen Elizabeth as if it arose of itself on the sea of history, without warning, without antecedent 'origins', a bolt from the blue (14). On *a priori* grounds, this would be improbable, and we have only to narrow the scope of inquiry to some single issue to find that there were very distinct lines of preparation, making that brilliant age possible. Thus the glowing accounts which come to us of the education of the ladies of the Court of Queen Elizabeth seemed as if the movement were a sudden efflorescence. It was not marked in the time of Queen Mary, nor in the time of Edward VI, nor in the later years of Henry VIII. But

the period of the outstanding 'School of More' in the years of Vives's residence in England, 1523–8, is the period in which Queen Catharine's influence in England was at its height, and if we consider the particular question of the education of women, it would seem that in this aspect, at least, we may designate the period as the Age of Queen Catharine (14), and ascribe to it the origins of the educational development, brilliant as it appears in William Harrison's account of the Court of Elizabeth, in his description of England in 1577.

Returning to the consideration of Luis Vives's *Instruction of a Christian Woman*, we find that both Luis Vives dedicated the book in its Latin form, and that Richard Hyrde, the translator into English, wrote an independent dedication; but both were inscribed to Queen Catharine of Aragon.

'This work,' says Vives, 'most excellent and gracious Queen. I offer you as a painter would a portrait; so, in this volume

shall you see the resemblance of your mind and goodness.' He tells the Queen that many others in his book are praised by name, but 'yourself spoken of continually, though you be not named. Your dearest daughter Mary shall read these instructions, and she will follow them, if only she order herself after your example.' Richard Hyrde, in his dedication to the translation, speaks of the 'gracious zeal' which the Queen bears 'to the virtuous education *of the womankind of this realm*'. This marks the new era, inaugurated by Queen Catharine. She is the first of royal personages in England to stimulate the education of girls. Vives and Linacre are the efficient directors she appoints for beginning the effort with her own daughter Mary.

More striking, perhaps it will seem to some readers, is the tribute paid elsewhere to Queen Catharine by Erasmus, even than that of the dedications of Vives and Hyrde, for in these two scholars the homage to their patron might not seem

to be entirely disinterested. But Erasmus, who had left England to live at Basle, with no intention whatever of returning to England, had no special reason for superfluous recognition of Queen Catharine, either as a well-educated scholar or as a woman of sound cultural influence and leading.

The Court of Henry and Catharine, compared with Courts elsewhere, won the strong admiration of Erasmus. 'I wish often, like you', he writes to the preceptor of the Archduke Ferdinand, 'that our Court would imitate Britain, which is full of men most learned in all kinds of studies. They stand round the royal table when literary and philosophical subjects are discussed, such as the education of a prince or some question of morals. The company of the palace is such that there is no academy you would value higher in comparison with it.' Both the King and the Queen delighted in reading, as is shown in the letter of acknowledgment by Henry of Erasmus's book on *Free Will* (*de Libero Arbitrio*).

Not only was Catharine, Erasmus declares, *egregie docta*, but other women also joined in the discussions. John Palsgrave laments he had not been present at the Court, when More's daughters were disputing 'in philosophy, afore the King's grace'.

Erasmus further dedicated his *de Matrimonio Christiano*, which contains his views on the education of girls and women, in 1526, to Queen Catharine. The heroic virtues of Isabella, he says, were renowned through the world, but the high gifts of Catharine revealed her mother's greatness to the later age. 'Who would not wish', asks Erasmus, 'to live in such a Court as hers?' She is educated, he says, in literature, in which she is 'a miracle of her sex, nor is she less to be reverenced for her piety than for her erudition'. In one of his delightful letters to Margaret Roper, Erasmus, when he refers her to Jesus, the light of the nations and 'the true Apollo of your studies', assures her that few women can bring themselves into comparison

with her. He adds, however, 'You have associated with you [in studies] your Queen, as it were, the Calliope of that most holy choir' [i.e. of women lyrists].

In 1524 Luis Vives wrote a characteristic little book for the Princess Mary, called *Satellitium* or *Symbola*, a book of maxims to serve as a body-guard for the child's mind. He addresses it to the Princess, saying that he has often been requested by the Queen, 'an illustrious and most holy woman', to place a guard about the child's soul to preserve her 'more securely and safely than any spearmen or bowmen whatever'. He provides 239 *symbola*, each being a motto, maxim, or emblem, and tells the Princess that she will be safely preserved from harm by these 200 'guards', if she refuses to depart a finger's breadth from them. Luis Vives includes the motto *Sine querela* (i. e. 'without complaint'). and he tells the child it is his own motto (15).

In the same year (1524) Vives wrote his *Introductio ad Sapientiam*, a book

which was followed by a somewhat similar treatise by Erasmus, in 1526, under the title *de Civilitate Morum puerilium.* Of Erasmus's manual a modern text was published, with the original Latin and the French translation side by side on opposite pages, with an introduction by Alcide Bonneau, in Paris, in 1877. In 1912 the devoted humanist scholar, Señor Don J. Pin y Soler, published the Latin text, together with the first translation ever made of Erasmus's book into Catalan. Of Vives's book there has been no modern re-issue except in Spain, in which country, so recently as 1863, the *Introductio ad Sapientiam* was one of the books recommended in a royal ordinance for reading in the schools. There is a good reason why in England Vives's book should be accessible, seeing that there was an English translation made by Sir Richard Morison, dedicated to the son of Thomas Cromwell. A reprint would have double value, that of Vives's subject-matter, and as another example of the English employed

in a version so early as 1540. Both Vives's *Introductio* and Erasmus's *de Civilitate* are students' *vade-mecums*, compendia of the student's whole duty, as scholar, to God and to man. These manuals are intended to include the whole sap and marrow of the Greek philosophy of Plato, Aristotle, Cicero, Epictetus, Seneca, and Plutarch, and of the Gospels, appealing to both natural reason and to Christian religion, with the underlying suggestion of a union between the two. Vives's *Introduction to Wisdom* is in fifteen chapters, and could thus be read in about a fortnight, a chapter a day, and re-read, fortnight by fortnight, until the student made the ideas the very atmosphere of his mental, moral, and religious life.

Such writings as Vives's *Satellitium* and his *Introductio ad Sapientiam* may seem trivial, but as a matter of fact they are not without significance. They mark the times, and make the Age of Queen Catharine intelligible educationally. Even today Professor Émile Boutroux has raised

the question whether we should not do well to return, in early stages of teaching of morals, to the emphasis on proverbs and maxims, as embodying much permanant human wisdom. But in an age in which a teacher was known as a 'preceptor', it is illuminating to find that one of his duties was seriously taken to be, by leaders like Vives and Erasmus, the familiarizing of himself and his pupils in what we may call a manifesto of humanist aims and self-dedication, and this, literally, by means of keeping before his mind clear and definite *precepts*. The spirit of Vives's two little *vade-mecum*s might be of value to-day. They belong to the class of literature which in religion is typified by Thomas à Kempis: *Imitatio Christi*. In Queen Catharine herself, in Vives, in Thomas More (16), scholarship and the pursuit of knowledge and truth were directly and inextricably associated with religion, taken in the sense of the spiritual bond which unites man-at-his-best to God. Thus before Vives began his daily studies

and the reading of a book he engaged in prayer. As he said a grace before sitting down to a meal, so also he said a grace before sitting down to the mental food on his study-desk or table. His educational aim, for the youth and for the adult, demanded 'ut sapientior fiat, ac inde melior'.

The fact is that the Age of Queen Catharine is a transitional age between Mediaevalism and Modern times, exactly the position which Luis Vives was so splendidly equipped for understanding:—he was experienced, we have seen, in both types of disciplines—nor had he ever wished for anything but to find the truth (17) wherever it was, in the old or in the new. For that reason no one was better able to reveal the age to itself. He did not belong to what might be called the advanced school of Italian humanists, who seemed to suggest that an alliance with learning required a divorce from religion. Vives was a profound believer in the unity of all life, divine and human, and culture to him was an amalgam,

known in the new northern humanist fervour, with which he was permeated, as *pietas litterata.*

Let it be remembered that this age of *pietas litterata* (taking the years of Vives's residence in England 1523–8 as representative) was only some sixty years after the introduction of the printing-press, and that as yet there was no general distribution of books. Instruction, therefore, was largely oral, and the educational methods lent themselves to the subject-matter that could offer food for the memory, *and for reflection.* Thus Queen Catharine herself, though better educated in the way of book-learning than any queen of the Middle Ages could have been, was permeated predominantly with the religious spirit, and derived her culture from both religion and literature.

This conjunction of *pietas* with literary studies institutionally can be exemplified by the close association of All Souls College, Oxford, with the Abbess and Nuns of the Brigittine Monastery of Syon, at

Isleworth. These women were admitted to the benefit of the prayers of the men's College, 'partakers of all our Divine offices'. In other words, the Abbey was an ally of the College and vice versa. As Professor Montague Burrows says, 'no doubt scholars of the one became priests of the other'. Syon Abbey was the nearest approach to a learned institution for women that existed in England. It was with this Abbey that Catharine brought herself into the closest relations. Vives, it is known, visited Queen Catharine at Richmond Palace and accompanied her to Syon Abbey—a short expedition across the Thames. In the *Satellitium*, written as we saw for the use of the Princess Mary, Vives says:

'I remember your mother, a most wise woman, said to me *as we came back by boat* from Syon to Richmond, that she preferred moderate and steady fortune to great alternations of rough and smooth. But if she had to choose, she would elect *the saddest*, rather than the most flattering fortune, because in the

former consolation can be found, whilst in the latter, often even sound judgment disappears.'

She, indeed, obtained her choice!

Richard Whitford was one of the Syon priests. He was a friend of Erasmus and Thomas More, and had been one of the retinue of William Blount, Erasmus's pupil, whilst travelling abroad. What is more, the literary exercises of Erasmus and More, written to 'stimulate the practice amongst schools and scholars', were dedicated to Whitford (who had introduced classical printed texts into the library of Sion House). He had written on the education of children, and was one of the progressive spirits of the day.

The nuns at Syon came from the best families, and the monastery was traditionally in close connexion with the royal family. It almost appears as if the monastery was to Court lady visitors of the more thoughtful kind what St. Donatian's at Bruges was to men of the scholarly type under the régime of Dean Marcus

Laurinus. Sir Thomas More 'frequented the monk's parlour' of the monastery, from time to time. The prioress from 1513 to the Dissolution of the Monasteries in 1539 was a connexion of Walter Blount, Lord Mountjoy (18). Meetings of outsiders took place in the court or reception-room of the Abbey. It is probable that the steward at the times of the earliest visits of Vives was one of the founders of Brasenose College, Oxford, Sir Richard Sutton (19).

Thus this institution is the nearest approach to a woman's college, or centre of culture of the times, and at least its connexion with All Souls College, and the association with it of Erasmus's friend, and the visits of Sir Thomas More, make it, like Vives's text-books, a preparatory 'source' of a cultural atmosphere, even if we agree that its *pietas litterata* laid greatly preponderating stress on the *pietas*.

Explain as we will this atmosphere of Queen Catharine, Syon Monastery, Sir Thomas More and his friends, and the Spanish Luis Vives, it was from these

surroundings that the demand first came for the humanist education and culture of girls and women. It was during Vives's connexion with the English Court that he came forward from this progressive mediaevalism and struck the modern note, with a clearness and an emphasis such as had never been reached in England. In other words, Catalan-Spaniard of Valencia by birth, whilst living in England, he sent forth a clarion cry in a letter to Henry VIII which of itself raises the Age of his compatriot Queen Catharine and himself to high distinction. Vives saw the national significance of general higher education.

Founded on the teachings of Plato's *Republic*, Vives appeals (20) to King Henry VIII to become the intellectual, as emphatically as he is the military, leader of his people. In this letter he says :

'Nothing is more vital than that due care should be taken in the formation by the young of right and sane opinions. They

should know the aim and advantage of each element of welfare, its essential proportion, and how to estimate it. Youth will then become like tried goldsmiths, with a Lydian stone, which serves as an indication of values (positive and negative), of such factors in life as money, possessions, friends, honours, nobility, dignity, sovereignty, outward form, physique, pleasure, wit, erudition, morality, religion. They will thus learn not to confuse small things with great. . . . Thus, provided with standards, their religion will not yield precedence to outward form and ceremonies, and their conception of literature will not allow them to devote their energies to topics provocative of struggle and contention, which render men stubborn rather than wise. They will be drawn rather to those studies which lead to the consolidation of morals and the building up of life. . . . No one is outside of the scope of religion, and the mass of the people (*vulgus*) will be helped in literature, partly by addresses (*concionibus*), partly by books, written in the mother tongue, advising them as to the subjects worthy of study, by which their good hours may not be passed in reciting old women's fables, nor in actions indifferent to good conduct.'

Vives might thus be claimed as the first to suggest the idea of University Extension and that of the Workers' Educational Association. In these views he would receive the sympathy of the writer of the *Utopia*. They both were trained in the ideal of *pietas litterata* as an appeal to men of every social grade, and are the forerunners, between three and four hundred years earlier, of F. D. Maurice and Charles Kingsley, and the group of the Christian Socialists and all their great successors of the last three-quarters of a century.

QUEEN CATHARINE OF ARAGON

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VI

THE FALL OF QUEEN CATHARINE OF ARAGON

In the earlier years of Queen Catharine's residence in England she had a distinctively Spanish household. After her marriage to Henry VIII many of the Spanish servitors were dismissed, but some Spanish friends were retained near her throughout her life. The anonymous Spaniard who wrote a Chronicle of Henry VIII remarked how liberal that monarch was to every one, *particularly to Spaniards*. Some of the English courtiers, such as Lord Berners and Bishop Cuthbert Tunstall, had travelled in Spain, and Sir Harry Guilford had been knighted by Ferdinand at Burgos. The Court of Queen Catharine of Aragon, in fact, had more of a Spanish colouring than was

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ever known in the English Court before her time. Catharine had tried, some years earlier, to get Erasmus as Preceptor in her Court, but had failed. Vives, however, as a Spaniard was doubly welcome, and the appreciation was mutual. Always we see that Vives's attraction to the Queen was great, as compatriot, as patron, as a friend.

'I am stirred', he says, with blunt spontaneity, 'by the holiness and goodness of your living, and by the favour, love, and zeal your grace bears towards holy study and learning'. Though Vives was not continuously the tutor to the Princess Mary, they must have been on the best of terms, and it is possible that he occasionally taught her. She adopted a motto, which finds its place in Vives's *Satellitium*—'Veritas temporis filia', on which Vives's comment is: 'Though truth has been hidden for a long time, it manifests itself as time proceeds'.

We are accustomed to regard only the sad and gloomy side of Catharine of

Aragon, but between 1509 and 1526 she had been the companion of Henry VIII in much that was of uncommon gaiety and joy, in masques and jousts, dances, processions, and pageants. Henry VIII was of magnificent physique, skilled in all outdoor exercises, in tennis, on horseback, in athletics. He was equally distinguished mentally. He was artistic, in appreciation at least. He spoke French and fair Italian, and learned Spanish enough to converse with his wife. He had been well trained in ecclesiastical studies 'to fit him for the mitre', at the time when his elder brother was expected to be king. He was read in the classics, and in the science of the times. He was of friendly disposition. 'You would say', pronounced Erasmus, 'he was a companion, not a king'. Such considerations lead us to attribute sincerity to Vives in the terms of his dedication of the Commentaries on S. Augustine's *Civitas Dei* to Henry VIII and similar sincerity on the King's reply to Vives. Henry VIII and Catharine of

Aragon were united in their goodwill towards culture and towards scholars, and hopes of the revival of learning in England ran high, perhaps at the time that Vives came to the English Court, higher than at any Court in Europe, for Ferdinand and Isabella had died, and the Spanish Court had degenerated in its interest in letters.

Erasmus, in 1518, declared that he saw another Golden Age arising if other Courts were to become like that of England, and thrillingly proclaimed, 'The world is recovering the use of its senses; it has awakened from the deepest sleep'. The spirit in which, as we saw, Vives wrote to Henry VIII, in 1525, at least justified the warm blessing of Erasmus of a few years before. No wonder Vives found England, in spite of all drawbacks, attractive in the charming goodwill of the King and in the gentle respect and affection of the Queen —both permeated with the enthusiasm of the revival of learning.

Then came the crash. There were two

Henries, or rather two strains of diverse personality, that one whom Vives had known hitherto, the scholar, the *bon camarade*, the leader of people to intellectual aims, the prince-philosopher (whom Erasmus recognized in him); and there was another side, which Vives did not know and could not perhaps so fully comprehend—the King who recognized the need for consolidation of his kingdom in the succession to the throne of a son and heir, who passionate in his outlook on life as he showed himself in the higher interests of life, was also equally passionate in the lower levels of his own nature, who, while capable of reaching great heights of thought and purpose (whilst stretching his arm round the neck of Thomas More as they together watched the heavens) could also be materially engrossed in designs which he inwardly interpreted as the good of his kingdom, when his mind turned earthwards, and got fixed even on the mud and the mire. The backward look on the Wars of the Roses had stirred Thomas

More to call for a Utopia. Henry VIII read no solution for the future, unless the succession to the crown was secured by the prospect of a strong king able to hold his own at home and abroad. This question of the succession, then, involved divorcing Catharine of Aragon and marrying again on the chance of the hope being fulfilled. Other motives there may have been, but this appears to have been a background; however susceptible of criticism, it is at least intelligible.

In May 1527 King Henry announced to Wolsey his intention to divorce his wife. On June 22 he told the Queen that he had been informed by divines and lawyers that their marriage had been from the first illegal. Catharine did not know or even suspect this second side to Henry's character. It may have been of slow development, though of so catastrophal a manifestation. But, strong-willed as the King was, when the change came in him he could not break by his own acts or those of his agents, the passive resistance

of the Queen, schooled by religion and philosophy, to meet the surprises of fortune. She had met the good fortune of a glorious Court, with responsive activity. She was not unprepared to meet the ill-fortune of life with a determined passivity of pain and suffering, though without the relief of active revolt.

Loyalty was part of the nature of Luis Vives. We see it in his pious affection for his parents, for his native Valencia, in his devotion to Paris in spite of her academic Cimmerian darkness, in his never-failing friendship for Erasmus (though Erasmus was not equally constant to him), in his devotion to his father-in-law and his mother-in-law—so, the tribulation of his compatriot, Queen Catharine of Aragon, found Luis Vives staunch on her side, in ill fortune as in prosperity.

Nearly sixteen months before the Legatine Court was summoned to try the case for divorce, i. e. as far back as Feb. 20, 1528, Wolsey had examined Vives 'in the fullest manner he could without force,

thinking this best for the king's honour'. But with no result prejudicial to Catharine. Whereupon Wolsey had Vives prevented from going out of London, or as Vives puts it in a letter, he was placed *in libera custodia* for six weeks, and released only on the condition of not visiting the Court. The story of Vives's connexion with the divorce case can be told in the two graphic letters of Vives himself. The first is a letter to some unnamed correspondent (20). He states that he was ordered to give an account of his communication with the Queen. 'Not that it would injure any one to relate it, even if it were published on church doors. But a great part of the intercourse of life'. says Vives, 'rests upon the faith of secrecy which, if destroyed, would put us all on guard against a companion as against an enemy'. On compulsion, he had made the following statement.

'Last May (1527), when I asked leave of the King to revisit my home and family [at Bruges], he asked me when I should

return. I said: "When it seemed good to him". "Let it be after the hunting season, at Michaelmas," he said. To this I agreed. The Queen asked me, at this time, to teach the Princess Mary Latin, and such precepts of wisdom as would arm her against any adverse fortune'. Accordingly, to please both King and Queen he returned at the end of September. The Queen, afflicted by the controversy as to her marriage,

'began to unfold to me this her calamity, since I was her compatriot and spoke the same language; thinking, too, that I might have read something, which might be a consolation to her grief. Then she wept over her fate, that the man whom she loved more than herself should be so alienated from her as to think of marrying another, which was a grief the more intense as her love was the greater. I answered her, that God thus exercised his own children to the increase of their highest virtues. It was a proof that she was dear to God.'

Then Vives raises the question: 'Can any one blame me for trying to soothe

and console her? She, a queen, born from such a race, and whose parents I tremble to remember were formerly my natural princes, and of such virtue that she seems least of all worthy of misfortune.' The Queen then asked Vives to approach the Emperor's orator (ambassador) and get him to secure a fair hearing with the Pope, that she should not be condemned without being heard.

Vives asks: 'Who does not admire and respect the moderation of the queen? other women would have roused heaven and earth, and filled all with clamour and tumult. She merely seeks from her sister's son that she may not be condemned unheard. This is the sum of all about which the queen and I conversed.'

The second letter of Vives is to his Spanish friend, Juan Vergara (about the end of 1531), in Spain, and shows the position which he took with regard to the trial.

'Cardinal Campeggio was sent into Britain as the judge of the case. The King in

wondrous haste requested the Queen to choose for herself defenders to plead her cause before Campeggio and Wolsey. The Queen summoned me to her presence, and I said that it was unwise to be defended before that tribunal by any one,—that it would be better to be condemned unheard *than to accept the delusive pretence of such a trial*; that the King was merely seeking a pretext with which to render himself plausible before his people; and to make it appear that the Queen was given opportunity of defence; that, for the rest, he did not greatly care.'

The Queen was too full of anxiety to consider Vives's suggestion calmly. She besought the King to grant her the benefit of advocates. Henry complied, and nominated on her behalf as councillors the Archbishop of Canterbury, the bishops of Rochester, Bath, and London, the Queen's Confessor, another bishop, and the Chancellor of Ely. He agreed, says a State document, that she should have a proctor and another advocate from Flanders and 'a Spaniard named Ludovicus Vives whom

she herself nominates, who formerly read history at Oxford' (21).

Consistently with his advice to the Queen, Vives declined to take part, as advocate, and, as he thought, injure her cause by the acceptance of trial before such a Court. 'The Queen', says Vives to his friend Vergara, 'was angry with me because I did not at once obey her will, rather than my own reason. . . . So the King regarded me as an enemy, and the Queen thought me refractory. And both of them took away the salaries they had been paying. So, for almost three years, I am astonished that I have been able to make a living.' But it was the common fate of all who supported Catharine's cause that they should suffer for it sooner or later.

Though Vives had refused to associate himself with what he believed to be the mistaken policy of acknowledging a genuine expectation of a fair trial in the Court of Campeggio and Wolsey, and had finally left England for Bruges in 1528, he

continued to do all that he could to assist the cause of Catharine, in the ways that he considered best. On January 13, 1531, he wrote one of the most daringly frank, appealing letters to Henry VIII, in which he besought the King not to plunge his country into trouble and possible war with the Emperor and into national civil strife, in a matter in which he can so easily take steps for the good of the nation. Another marriage would not necessarily make the succession any safer than the choice of a good son-in-law for his daughter Mary. He appeals to the great weight of Henry's example to his people and to the cause of stumbling he will afford to others, if he persists in the divorce-project.

Further, in 1532, he wrote a treatise, embodying the answer on behalf of Catharine to the whole of the arguments collected by Cranmer of the decisions of the continental Universities. Cranmer's book (22) has been represented as the outcome of the opinions of one hundred protagonists of the King, at home and abroad.

These *Censurae* were answered first by Bishop Fisher the same year, and in the following year by Luis Vives, in a book with a long title (23) published at Lüneburg, 1532.

The rest of the story of Catharine is but the account of her journey to the grave. Dismissed from Windsor in 1531, she lived at 'the More', at Ampthill, at Buckden, near Huntingdon, and at Kimbolton, and in the last-named place she died in 1535. In the last few years she had the Spanish George de Atequa, bishop of Llandaff, as her confessor. She had her Spanish physician and apothecary, and retained at least of Spanish servitors, Felipo, Bastian, and Antonio; and she had the ever-faithful Lady Willoughby (a Spanish lady, Maria de Salinas, of illustrious descent, who married an English noble). She was Spanish in surroundings in her downfall. 'After the last, returned the first.'

Vives, suffering amid his poverty in Bruges, though deprived of the favour of

RICHMOND PALACE

From an old engraving

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the King and the Queen, did not waver in his old loyalty. In one of his works written at Bruges, he says, with deep feeling of Queen Catharine, so strong in her adversity:

'If such incredible virtue had appeared when honour was the reward of virtue, she would have been regarded as divine, sent down from heaven. She would have been prayed to, in temples. Yet there cannot be erected unto her a more magnificent temple than that which all men, in all nations, marvelling at her virtues, have in their hearts, builded and erected.'

During the years 1523–8, the two Spaniards, Queen Catharine and Luis Vives, had been in England, united in the common Renascence cause, which both had found so full of joyful promise in their youthful Spanish years. From 1528 to 1540 (the year of his death) Vives lived mainly in Bruges. The English connexions, on which we have laid stress in this short biography, were at an end.

VII

VIVES AFTER LEAVING ENGLAND

THROUGHOUT his connexion with England Vives had spent part of the year in Bruges, where he left his wife and his wife's relations. Vives's wife, Margaret Valdaura, was the daughter of a remarkable woman, Clara Cervent, placed so affectionately by Vives amongst noble and saintly women. She married Bernard Valdaura, a man of forty-six years, when she was eighteen. Attacked by a loathsome disease, for years Valdaura was nursed by his wife and daughter. They did not rest for more than from one hour to three hours a night and then in their day clothes, and on his apparent recovery he relapsed into another long disease. For ten years the wife was absorbed in tending the husband,

whom others shunned. Vives was lost in reverence for his mother-in-law. How the family lived in the years of Valdaura's illness is not known, but it is not improbable that Vives's wife and her mother engaged in money-earning, and certain documents in the English Calendar of State Papers make clear that Luis Vives had held licences for importing wine, and exporting corn, possibly by way of assisting in the affairs of his wife's family. The whole of the circumstances show how serious a matter it was for Vives to lose the financial favour of Henry VIII and Catharine of Aragon.

Vives lived twelve years after leaving England, dying in 1540. In the first year after his return from England to Bruges was published the *de Officio Mariti*, suggested, as we saw, by his Spanish co-lodger in London, Alvaro de Castro, who also, at this time, was domiciled at Bruges. Vives dedicated the book to Francisco Borgia, Duke of Gandia, a Spaniard of the Province of Valencia. In his dedication Vives speaks

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with affection of the Valencians whom he found at Bruges, and of them he mentions Juan Andres Straneus and Honoratus Joannius. Another dedication should also be mentioned, that of Vives's important work, *de Anima*, in 1538. This book constitutes Vives's claim to be regarded as the father of modern empirical psychology. He is the first, in modern times, to lay stress on what the soul *does*, or on what its *manifestations* are, instead of confining inquiries into what the essence of the soul *is*. The dedication of this book is to a distinguished Spaniard, the Duke of Béjar. It will be remembered that Cervantes, in 1605, dedicated his Don Quichote to the contemporary Duke of Béjar. 'Thus', as Señor Bonilla has remarked, 'the dukes of Béjar were honoured by the first philosopher and the first novelist of Spain'. The reference to Luis Vives as the first modern philosopher, may be further based upon his history of philosophy (24), published at Louvain in 1518.

Four important works of Vives which must be mentioned were written after leaving England, in 1529, the *de Concordia et Discordia in humano genere*; in 1531, the *de Disciplinis*; and in 1538 the *Linguae Latinae Exercitatio.* In 1543 was published, posthumously, his *de Veritate Fidei Christianae,* Vives's chief distinctively ecclesiastical and religious work.

The first three are of more significance than is generally recognized, but since the present volume is especially devoted to the life of Vives in England, only a quite generalized statement can be here made of each of them. Dedicated to the Emperor Charles V, the *de Concordia et Discordia in humano genere* was published in 1529. In our own days, in view of the foundation of the League of Nations, Vives's treatise deserves renewal of attention. For it is concerned with the establishment, continuance, and guarantees for European peace. It is one of Vives's social works, characterized by the enthusiasm for humanity, rising beyond national interests,

or rather identifying national and international with human and cosmopolitan aims (25).

Vives is the first modern writer to base education on psychology. He suggests the need of observation of the child and adaptation of teaching to his needs. The *de Disciplinis* is the most thorough-going educational book of the Renascence. Vives advocates that only those fit for the higher learning should proceed to it. Slow wits are to be preferred to quick wits. Conferences of teachers in each school should determine procedure for each boy. The vernacular should be the medium of instruction at the early stages of instruction. All languages (Latin included) should be taught by the direct method. Vives was the first to attach importance to the teaching of modern history (e. g. to the reading of Froissart, Monstrelet, Commines, and the Spanish Valera), and to modern geography. He lays stress on religious education. Pupils should enter schools full of reverence, 'as if into holy

temples'. He emphasizes qualitative work in contrast to large numbers of pupils. 'Who can complain of the fewness of his scholars when the Creator of the world was satisfied with a school of twelve men?'

His *Linguae Latinae Exercitatio* is a collection of Latin dialogues, containing accounts of the ordinary life of pupils and scholars, affording exercise in good Latinity. Of special interest historically, they present unconsciously, with realistic simplicity and sincerity, pictures of the manners, habits, interests, and conversation of youths nearly 400 years ago.

Luis Vives left behind him, at his death, unpublished MSS., containing his systematic theological and religious views in his *de Veritate Fidei Christianae.* This work is the outcome of a religious spirit which permeated his whole life. His main concern was with practical piety. Towards the end of his life he published a collection of prayers and devotional exercises (26), and it is an outstanding tribute to his spiritual sincerity that when John

Bradford put together his collection of 'Private Prayers and Meditations' in 1559, this great Protestant champion included a large number of Vives's prayers and meditations, for Luis Vives, like Erasmus and Thomas More, never left the Roman Catholic Church. The same prayers, though with variations of rendering, are repeated in the English Church Book of Private Prayers put forth by Authority in 1578. It is curious and interesting to find that the Spaniard Vives, of the Roman Catholic Church, though not in holy orders in it, is one of the chief sources of the official Book of Private Prayers, chosen for the Church of England, in Queen Elizabeth's reign.

We have followed the two figures of the Spanish Renascence whom we have found to be of significance for one phase and one short period in the history of English education and culture—Luis Vives and Queen Catharine of Aragon. For Vives's life from 1528 to 1540 only transferred the activities of thought and knowledge to

Flanders, which might have continued to build up the Revival of Learning in England. The spirit of Vives's *pietas litterata* was the same in London as it was afterwards in Flanders, and in any complete estimate of the sources and origins of the Elizabethan Court culture it requires a recognition which it has not yet received. Spaniards claim Luis Vives as *el gran Valenciano.* English students may well respect that claim, and further regard him as the Spanish friend and educational adviser of Catharine, and the cultured comrade of Thomas More. Whilst emphasizing his position in England as the greatest Spanish humanist who had ever exercised literary and educational influence in our country, we may acknowledge that he passes beyond that limitation, in any complete estimate. He is the great Valencian *international humanist* of the first half of the sixteenth century.

NOTES

(1) The first grammar of a vernacular romance language written by a humanist scholar.

(2) *Life of Ximénez* (von Hefele, p. 116).

(3) We are told that More 'not so much discussed the points of divinity, as the precepts of moral philosophy and history wherewith those views are replenished'—a method of procedure which finds ready parallels in Vives's treatment of St. Augustine.

(4) I give the English rendering of John Healey, who translated Vives's entire work on the Commentaries of St. Augustine's *City of God*, in 1610.

(5) *de Institutione Foeminae Christianae*, Antwerp, 1523, date of dedication, Bruges, 5 April, 1523.

(6) London: T. Berthelet.

(7) i.e. anticipated.

(8) Bernard Valdaura, Margaret's father,

was an invalid with a painful and loathsome disease, most heroically nursed by his wife. It appears that the home-life was somewhat straitened for finance. See pp. 96, 97.

(9) *de Rebus Albionicis*, in which he discusses all sorts of questions of archaeology and early British history. It was published in 1590, but must have been written long before.

(10) Erasmus's account, of course, is open to the criticism that Erasmus was not personally acquainted with the Chelsea home of More, since he was not in England after 1515. But he *knew* Thomas More, and he *knew* More's old home in Bucklersbury, and Erasmus's description was accepted as the best known by those who had personal knowledge.

(11) Even to the point of absence of quarrelling. Vives says of his mother, Blanche, after she had been married fifteen years to his father: 'I could never see her strive with my father'. The 'concord of Vives (the father) and Blanche' became a proverb in Valencia, the son tells us. He adds: 'But it is not to be much talked of in a book made for another purpose, of my most holy mother.' He cherished the design of writing

a 'book of her acts and life'. It is a great loss that it was not written. The record of his intention, which shows the unforgettable Valencian home in all his wanderings, was written in 1523, just before his introduction to the Chelsea manor-house.

(12) John Clement was a predecessor of Vives in the Wolsey lectureship at Oxford. In 1522 he was studying medicine at Louvain. It is not actually known that Vives and Clement met there, but it is highly probable.

(13) Thomas More advocates the education of women in the *Utopia*, 1516; Luis Vives in the *de Institutione Foeminae Christianae* in 1523; Richard Hyrde in 1524, in the above-named prefatory letter to Margaret Roper's translation; and Erasmus in his *de Matrimonio Christiano* in 1526. Erasmus, it is well known, was *converted* to the idea of women's education by Sir Thomas More.

(14) I ventured to use this term in my *Vives and the Renascence Education of Women* (London: Edward Arnold, 1912). I then pointed out that no woman in England throughout the long course of the Middle Ages had been so active and persistent in the cause of education as Margaret, Countess of Richmond, the mother of Henry VII.

But her high enthusiasm was entirely concentrated on the education of boys and men. It is the distinction of Queen Catharine, through association with Luis Vives, to have stimulated the cause of the education of girls and women. The ground was thus *prepared* for the developments of Queen Elizabeth's age of cultured women.

(15) His comment on it is:

'Life should be so led that no one should have reason to complain of thee, nor thou of any one, or of fortune. Nor shouldst thou do wrong to any one, nor believe that any one has done any to thee (Seneca, *de Tranquillitate vitae*). So accustomed should we be to our position in life that we should bring complaint to a minimum, whilst we should recognize whatsoever is of pleasantness in it. For there is nothing so grievous in which the just mind cannot find some solace. This is my motto.'

(16) In the description of Thomas More's School or Academy Erasmus said: 'Their *special* care is piety and virtue.'

(17) At the end of the Preface to the *de Disciplinis* he says: 'I ask that my goodwill in the attempt to pursue the good be recognized, and that you pardon the errors

of an undertaking which is so new.' (And earlier in the Preface): 'If you think, friends, that I seem to offer right judgments, give your adherence, not because they are mine, but because they are true. *You, who seek truth, make your stand wherever you think that she is.*'

(18) The community at Syon Abbey consisted of thirteen priests, four deacons, and eight lay brethren, and sixty nuns. It is said that the numbers were fixed after the thirteen apostles and seventy-two evangelists.

(19) October 8, 1525.

(20) *Foreign and Domestic State Papers*, vol. iii, part 1, no. 4990, R.O. under date, 1528. Cf. also a fuller transcript in M. A. E. Wood, *Letters of Royal and Illustrious Ladies*, 1846, vol. ii, pp. 201–3.

(21) This account of the choice of the Queen's advocates appears in a letter from Campeggio himself to Salviati dated Oct. 26, 1528.

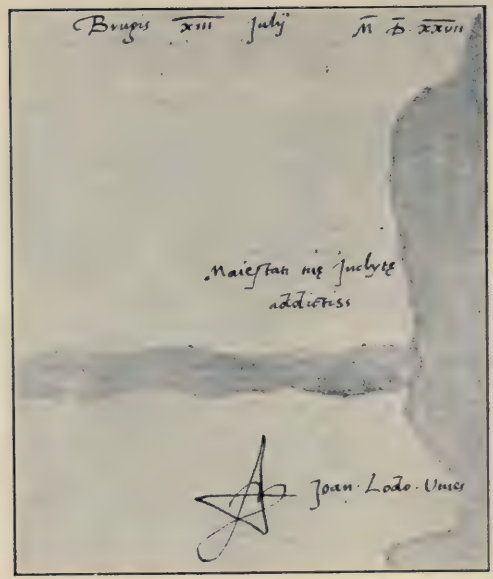
(22) The editorship is not absolutely certain, but the book represents Cranmer's idea of a collection of testimony for the King's side. Its date is probably 1531, and its short title is *Academiarum Censurae*.

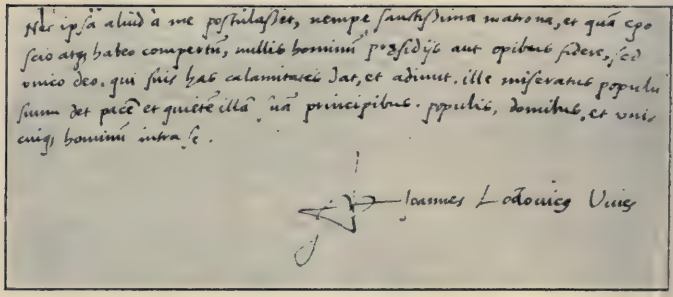
(23) The full descriptive title is: *Non esse, neque divino neque naturae iure prohibitum, quin Summus Pontifex dispensare possit, ut frater sine liberis fratris uxorem legitimo matrimonio sibi possit adiungere, adversus aliquot Academiarum censuras tumultuaria ac perbrevis Apologia, sive confutatio*, Lüneburg, 1532.

(24) The *de Initiis, Sectis, et Laudibus Philosophiae*, was highly praised by J. J. Brucker (1767), who pointed out the modern method of Vives in writing this philosophical history.

(25) Dr. C. Lecigne, in 1898, collected the views contained in seventeen treatises of Vives which deal with international questions chiefly of war and peace, under the title *Quid de rebus politicis censuit J. L. Vives.* The *de Pacificatione* was dedicated to the Spanish Alfonso Manriquez. One of the letters is addressed to D. Everard de la Marck, Archbishop of Valencia.

(26) *Ad animi exercitationem in Deum Commentatiunculae*, Antwerp, 1535.





TWO SIGNATURES OF JUAN LUIS VIVES

1527 AND ? 1531

From letters in the Rolls Office, London

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